

565

554

[392]

[519]

[145]

554

562

574

[633]

[565]

565

[831]

513]

The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in knowing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and knowing how to play the violin.

Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565

[793]

[871]

The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

[651]

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they
[582] are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[641] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject
any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered
nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they
have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr
tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a con-
federation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have
Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want
to regard them as their equals.

[192] They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble,"
or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the
Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates
persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being
descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called
and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors;
such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq
fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an acci-
dental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and
prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from
the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of
God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only
stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them
display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran,
and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab an-
cestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being
classified as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an
instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on
[142] which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have al-
ready said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic
appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the
Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed
Ouguinat.

565 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
631 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
793 any political role in the administration of the confederation in
order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society
where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It
is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than
he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged
themselves upon several occasions by the Ihaggaren and forced to
seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

[797] The influence of the Inislmen on the Ihaggaren and the Kel
Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hard-
ly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper
than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact,
they are generally quite ignorant.

[597] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their
chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving,
they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and
disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihaggaren against us,
in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislmen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.

797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base
of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they
preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from
the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents.
They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
791 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimiden, the Cheriffen
are divided into ordinary Cheriffen and warrior Cheriffen.

184 The Inislmen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
● 793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[63] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in
practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."

In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the
Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people,"
a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading
for them.

[63] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are
their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them
people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia
Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they
are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances
the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the
invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the
country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a
decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more
"Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment,
as well as less ethnic pride.

563

[74]
[70]

There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply the Koranic schools in their camps.

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the Aïr who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

1. The Kel-Aïr are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oui, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Oûraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
 793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifōra who nomadize in the Tēmaçinine (Fort
 Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable
 relations with the Ihāggaren and the Kel Ājjer, but these relations
 are very few and far between and have no political or religious
 character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihāggaren.
 Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Tēmaçinine, near
 which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
 578 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihāggaren or Ājjer, who pass near this
 787 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on
 the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the
 Ihāggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of
 them are Ifōras.

631 The Ifōras are under the administrative control of the Ājjer
 annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ājjer
 than of the Ihāggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifōras-oui-n-Oukkiren

Ifōras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifōras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of
 espousing the cause of the Oūraren, while the third was attached to
 the Imenān sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifōras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
 533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
 631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited
 to making noise. (1) Now the Ifōras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those
 who are attached to the aménokal," just as Ikān-en-Tāousit (of the
 Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

[264] After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present
765 their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

[766] Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tāitok, [773] for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There [212] are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously.

795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are
175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guédassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed. /. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Sensusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifōra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
 78/ not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
 [788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to
 Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern
 Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihaggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth
 already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that
 he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious
 dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a
 perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
 [669] religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
 773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this
 to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war,
 as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of
 the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their
 thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
 783 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural
 centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for
 Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to
 them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally
 from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty
 years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed
 in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of
 the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to
 Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
 [94] and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
 [55] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still
 quite young and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset
 said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu-562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them-782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qadiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

585 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

619

thaggaren (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajerén* (sing. *Amajer*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *thaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajerén* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajerén* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

1793 *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabouts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Ajjer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabout.

Echchikhen (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families — particularly in noble tribes — often claim relationship with the Prophet.

Isekemaren (sing. *Asekemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups — particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

Iregmaten (sing. *Aregmat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregmaten* (*Iregmaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*ajifawt*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential
164 than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer
184 an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aywrit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *aywritit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

M
512 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
1114 functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage,
seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin
marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to
change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are
brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in
common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's
brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as
close as that between father and son. A man should do his utmost to defend his mother's brother,
and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the
reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's
daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers
of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an
institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its
importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social
functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family
from paying bride-wealth.

T
1270 It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a
marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Kriger 1937,
T
606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always
support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not
been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several
marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when
he needs their help.

T
582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event hus-
band and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their
families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T
585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
583 before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabout. This may take place on the first day of the wedding
ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place.
The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do
not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no
doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—